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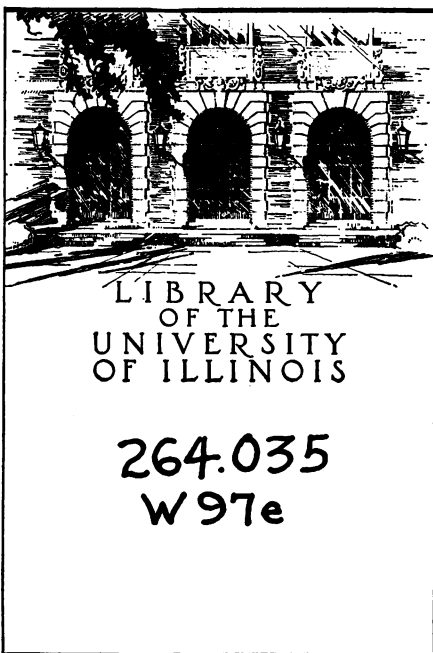
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V

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

BY
E. G. P. WYATT, M.A.

A. R. MOWBRAY & CO. LTD.
LONDON : 28 Margaret Street, Oxford Circus, W.
OXFORD : 9 High Street
MILWAUKEE, U.S.A. : THE YOUNG CHURCHMAN CO.



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PREFACE

I DESIRE to express my obligations to Dom Cagin's *L'Eucharistia* (Desclée et Cie., 1912), and his Introduction to Vol. V of *Paléographie Musicale*. I have taken most of the examples which I have given from the great amount of valuable material which he has collected in these two books ; also to the Rev. W. C. Bishop's articles in the *Church Quarterly Review* (October, 1906, and January, 1907) on *The Mozarabic Mass*, and (July, 1908) on *The Primitive Form of Consecration of the Holy Eucharist* ; and to Dr. Adrian Fortescue's *The Mass* (Longmans, 1912) ; and to the article by Dom Cabrol on *Canon* in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* ; and especially to Dr. Cuthbert Atchley for the great amount of trouble he has taken in giving me advice and help, and for many interesting suggestions ; and to the Rev. Dr. Frere for much valuable help.

E. G. P. WYATT.

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

IT is very generally agreed that the Eucharistic Prayer in the Liturgy of the Church of England is defective and ill-arranged. Some elements which are found in all the ancient liturgies are wanting to it, and the part that remains has been cut up into fragments and distributed in an order for which as a whole there is no ancient precedent. There is a widespread agreement among churchmen as to the existence of these defects, but there is a considerable difference of opinion as to the best way of making them good. This difference is due not merely to the possession of a greater or less amount of liturgical knowledge, but also to the prepossessions of those who consider the question. One group of critics would take the Prayer as it stands in the First Prayer Book as their model for revision; another group would prefer the Scottish Communion Office; while a third would copy, or reinstate, the Roman Canon; and so on. It is proposed in this tract to deal with the question whether it be desirable that revision should take the direction of approximation to the Roman Canon or not.¹

¹ The early texts of the Roman Canon fall into two classes or recensions (A and B). "A," which seems to be the earlier, can be traced back to the early years of the seventh century. "B"

In order that we may be in a position satisfactorily to answer this question, it will be necessary to examine the Roman Canon itself in detail, and judge from internal evidence whether it be satisfactory from a practical point of view. It is proposed next to deal with it from a historical standpoint, in order to discover (1) in what respect it differs from other ancient liturgies; (2) whether in those points of difference it approximates more or less closely than these do to the primitive model; (3) whether the Roman Eucharistic Prayer itself has not at an early date undergone a revision which differentiates it not only from those of the Eastern liturgies, but also from those of the other liturgies of the Western Church. We shall then be in a position to estimate whether it be sufficiently clear and consistent, and sufficiently representative of the liturgies of Christendom, to serve as a safe model for revision.

THE ROMAN CANON IN LATIN AND ENGLISH

DOMINUS vobiscum.	THE Lord be with you.
Et cum spiritu tuo.	And with thy spirit.
Sursum corda.	Lift up your hearts.
Habemus ad Dominum.	We lift them up unto the Lord.
Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.	Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

is found at length in the older recension of *Gelasianum*, and offers the same type of text as the MSS. of *Gregorianum* of the ninth century. Both "A" and "B" existed in France in the seventh century. It is the earlier recension "A" which is given here. For a full account of it see Mr. Edmund Bishop's article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (July, 1908), pp. 555 foll.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine Sancte, Pater omnipotens,

It is meet and right so to do.

It is very meet and just, right and salutary, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, Holy Lord, Almighty Father,

Dominical Preface.

ÆTERNE Deus ; qui cum unigenito Filio tuo et Spiritu Sancto unus es Deus, unus es Dominus : non in unius singularitate personæ, sed in unius Trinitate substantiæ. Quod enim de tua gloria, revelante te, credimus hoc de Filio tuo, hoc de Spiritu Sancto, sine differentia discretionis sentimus. Ut in confessione veræ sempiternæque Dicitatis, et in personis proprietas, et in essentia unitas, et in maiestate adoretur æqualitas :

EVERLASTING God ; who with thy only begotten Son and the Holy Ghost art one God, art one Lord : not in the singleness of one person, but in the Trinity of one substance. For what we believe of thy glory, as thou dost reveal, the same do we hold of thy Son and of the Holy Ghost, without distinction of difference : that in the confession of the true and everlasting Godhead distinction in persons, unity in essence, and equality in majesty may be adored :

QUAM laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Cherubim quoque ac Seraphim ; qui non cessant clamare quotidie, una voce dicentes :

WHICH Angels and Archangels praise, Cherubim also and Seraphim, who cease not to cry day by day, saying with one voice :

SANCTUS, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

HOLY, Holy, Holy Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

TE, igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus ac petimus uti acceptum habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata, in primis quae tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua Sancta Catholica : quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum ; una cum devotissimo famulo tuo Papa Nostro *N.*

THEE, therefore, O most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, we humbly pray and beseech that thou mayest hold accepted and bless these gifts, these offerings, these holy unspotted sacrifices, which we offer unto thee, first of all for thy Holy Catholic Church, which do thou vouchsafe to keep in peace, to guard, to unite, and to govern throughout the whole world ; together with thy most religious servant our Pope *N.*

MEMENTO, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum *N.* et *N.* Et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio : pro quibus tibi offerimus, hoc sacrificium laudis, pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae : tibi reddunt vota sua aeterno Deo, vivo et vero.

BE mindful, O Lord, of thy servants and handmaids *N.* and *N.*, and of all here standing around, whose faith is known, and whose devotion is noted by thee ; for whom we offer unto thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and all theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety. They are addressing their petitions unto thee, eternal God, living and true.

COMMUNICANTES et memoriam venerantes, in primis gloriosae semper Virginis Mariae, Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi : sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum, Petri, Pauli, Andreae, Jacobi, Joannis, Thomae,

JOINING in communion with and reverencing the memory, first of the glorious ever-virgin Mary, Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ ; and also of thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James,

Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Simonis et Thaddaei: Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Joannis et Pauli, Cosmae et Damiani, et omnium Sanctorum tuorum: quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio: per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

HANC igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quaesumus, Domine, ut placatus suscipias; diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripias, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grēge numerari: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

QUAM oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus quaesumus benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, quae nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini autem Dei nostri Jesu Christi.

QUI pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, elevatis oculis suis ad caelum, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipo-

Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, and Thaddaeus; Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all Saints; by whose merits and prayers do thou grant that in all things we may be defended by the help of thy protection: through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

THIS oblation, therefore, of our service and also of thy whole family, we beseech thee, O Lord, that thou wouldest graciously receive; and wouldest order our days in thy peace, and deliver us from eternal damnation, and ordain that we be numbered with the flock of thine elect: through Christ our Lord. Amen.

WHICH oblation, we beseech thee O God, vouchsafe in all things to make blessed, approved, reckoned, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may become to us the Body and Blood of thy most beloved Son, our Lord and God Jesus Christ.

WHO the day before he suffered took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and having lifted his eyes to heaven, to thee, O God, his Father

tentem, tibi gratias egit, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens : Accipite, et manducate ex hoc omnes ; hoc est enim Corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cenatum est accipit et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens, benedixit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens : Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes : hic est enim calix sancti Sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei ; qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Haec quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.

UNDE et memores sumus, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini nostri tam beatae passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis ; offerimus praeclarae majestati tuae, de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctum, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae.

SUPRA quae propitio ac sereno vultu aspicere dignare, et acceptum habere, sicuti acceptum habere dignatus es munera pueri tui

Almighty, he gave thanks to thee, he blessed, brake, and gave to his disciples, saying, "Take, and eat ye all of this, for this is my Body." Likewise, after supper, he took also this most excellent cup into his holy and venerable hands, again giving thanks to thee, he blessed, and gave to his disciples, saying, "Take and drink all ye of this, for this is the cup of my holy Blood of the new and eternal testament, the mystery of faith ; which shall be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins. As often as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me."

WHEREFORE, O Lord, we thy servants, and also thy holy people, are mindful as well of the blessed passion of the same Christ thy Son our Lord as of his resurrection from the dead, and also of his glorious ascension into the heavens, do offer unto thy excellent majesty, of thine own gifts and donations, a pure offering, a holy offering, an undefiled offering, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of everlasting salvation.

UPON which do thou vouchsafe to look with a favourable and gracious countenance, and to hold them accepted as thou

justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

didst vouchsafe to hold accepted the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the undefiled offering, which thy high priest Melchisedech offered unto thee.

SUPPLICES te rogamus et petimus, omnipotens Deus, jube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublimi altari tuo, in conspectu divinae majestatis tuae, ut quotquot ex hoc altari sanctificationis, sacrosanctum Filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumpserimus, omnibenedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur; per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

WE humbly pray and beseech thee, Almighty God, command that these things be carried by the hands of thy holy angel to thy altar on high, in the sight of thy divine majesty, that as many of us as from this altar of hallowing shall receive the most sacred Body and Blood of thy Son may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

MEMENTO etiam Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum *N.* et *N.*, qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis Domine et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur; per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

REMEMBER, also, O Lord, thy servants and handmaidens *N.* and *N.* who are gone before us with the sign of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, we entreat that thou wouldest grant a place of refreshment, of light, and of peace; through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

NOBIS quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis

UNTO us sinners also, thy servants, trusting in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy Apostles

Apostolis et Martyribus ; cum Joanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Caecilia, Anastasia et omnibus Sanctis tuis : intra quorum nos consortia, non aestimator meritis, sed veniam, quaesumus, largitor admitte ; per Christum Dominum nostrum.

PER quem haec omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et praestas nobis.

PER ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso, est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, omnis honor et gloria, per saecula saeculorum. Amen.

PRÆCEPTIS salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere :
Pater noster, etc.

LIBERA nos, quaesumus, Domine ab omni malo, praeterito, praesenti, et futuro, etc.

and Martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy saints ; into whose company do thou admit us, we beseech thee, not weighing our merits, but freely pardoning us, through Christ our Lord.

By whom, O Lord, all these good things thou dost ever create, hallow, quicken, bless, and bestow upon us.

THROUGH him, and with him, and in him there is unto thee, God the Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

INSTRUCTED by saving precepts, and directed by the divine appointing, we are bold to say :
Our Father, etc.

DELIVER us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evil, past, present, and to come, etc.

I

It is admitted by Roman Catholic writers themselves that the Canon contains many obscurities and awkwardnesses, arising both from the wording of

the sections of which it is composed and from the order in which they are placed. In a recent Roman Catholic history of the Latin Mass¹ we read: "It seems clear to any one who examines our Canon that its order has somehow been dislocated. There is an absence of logical sequence in the elements of this prayer which can hardly fail to strike one, especially if we compare it with the Antiochene and Alexandrian Anaphoras. The Canon indeed is full of difficulties." If any further proof were needed, it might be found in the number of different scholars who have attempted to explain these obscurities and difficulties, and in the fact that their explanations differ widely from one another. Let us examine the Canon in detail and see what these difficulties are.

The very opening of the Canon presents a difficulty. What is the meaning of *igitur*? Why "therefore"? To what does it refer?

How are the participles *communicantes* and *venerantes* to be accounted for? There is no finite verb in the sentence, except in a dependent clause. Moreover, *Communicantes* becomes quite unintelligible when used in connexion with the variable *infra actionem* clauses, which are introduced into the Canon at certain seasons. The word itself seems to be taken from Rom. xii. 13, where the *Itala* reads *memoriis sanctorum communicantes*, instead of the Vulgate *necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes*.

Further, there are breaks in the prayer, indicated not merely by lack of logical sequence and

¹ Dr. Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass* (1912), p. 110.

grammatical construction, but also by the occurrence from time to time of the conclusion *per Christum Dominum nostrum*, with or without *Amen*. It is clear beyond all dispute that the present Canon is composed of a number of distinct short prayers.

The intercessions for the quick and the dead are divided into two portions by the intervening Consecration, and there are two distinct sets of saints commemorated, and divided in like manner from one another. It is impossible to give any logical justification for this order.

In the clause *Supra quae* there is a harsh grammatical construction. We have here an accusative *quae* governed by a preposition, then an adjective governed by a verb, *accepta habere*, in apposition to it.

The clause *Supplices te rogamus* is now very commonly considered to be an Epiclesis; but this interpretation is not an obvious one, and the clause has certainly not always been understood in this sense. Florus Diaconus¹ abandons the attempt to explain these words in despair, saying, "Who can understand these words of mystery, so deep, so wonderful, so stupendous? They should rather be revered and feared than discussed."

Pope Innocent III² says of the words *per manus sancti angeli tui*, "Such is the profundity of these words, that no human intellect is equal to the task of penetrating it," and proceeds to express the opinion that the explanation is "more safe," that *haec* means "these prayers."

¹ *De Exposit. Missae*, 66 (P. L. cxix. 58). ² *Mysteriorum*, L. v.

Cardinal Bellarmine¹ says frankly, "We admit that it would be most absurd to say that the Body of Christ should now be taken bodily into heaven by angels."

It seems clear that the Roman Canon once contained a more definite Epiclesis. Dr. Fortescue² says, "It is, I think, quite certain that the Roman rite too once had an Epiclesis of the Holy Ghost.³ Apart from the fact that otherwise it would be unique in Christendom, we have direct evidence of it. Pope Gelasius (492-96) refers to it twice. The first reference⁴ is perhaps less certain; he says that the bread and wine 'change into the divine substance, the Holy Ghost working thus.' But the second⁵ leaves surely no doubt that Gelasius knew the Epiclesis: 'How shall the heavenly Spirit, being invoked, come to the consecration of the divine mystery, if the priest who prays him to be present is condemned as being full of evil deeds?'"

The *Memento* of the departed follows rather abruptly, having no link to connect it with the preceding prayer. *Etiam* implies that it was formerly preceded by another commemoration or intercession. It may be noted here that this *Memento* clause is wanting in some of the "Gelasian" texts of the Canon, and also apparently in the true

¹ *Disputat. de Controv. Christ. Fid.*, III. 24.

² *The Mass*, p. 405.

³ There was one in the African liturgy.

⁴ Thiel: *Ep. Rom. Pont.*, i. 542.

⁵ Quomodo ad divini mysterii consecrationem caelestis Spiritus invocatus adveniet, si sacerdos et qui eum adesse deprecatur . . . reprobetur?—*Ibid.* i. 486.

Gregorian, as sent by Pope Hadrian to Charles the Great. In the Roman Mass it seems not to have been used on Sundays. Mr. Edmund Bishop¹ points out that the clause is absent from some of the fine and important sacramentaries, whereas it appears in "the meaner everyday codices like Bobbio and Stowe."

The result of these criticisms, if they are well founded, is to show that the Roman Canon, as it exists to-day, is far from being a perfect model for our revision purposes in itself, as regards either intelligibility, or logical coherence and sequence. It is in the next place necessary to inquire into its history, in order, if possible, to discover its original form, to learn whether its peculiarities be primitive, and whether it agree with the primitive model as deduced from the study of other ancient liturgies and the allusions thereto in early Christian writers.

It was at one time assumed that the Ordinary and Canon of the present Roman Rite represent the normal type of the Western Mass; and that, because the Gallican liturgies seem to approximate to the Eastern in some of those points in which they differ from the Roman, and because they contain a few (really unessential) elements which are clearly Eastern in origin, the Gallican type was therefore a departure from the original Western form and was introduced from the East.

But this idea now seems to be based upon a misconception. For the Gallican differs from the Eastern type of liturgy in one essential and primary

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies* (July, 1903), p. 573.

characteristic. The Eastern liturgies do not vary from day to day, except in respect of the lessons and a few anthems in the pre-anaphoral portion. The Anaphora itself does not vary in any part, though there are, in many cases, complete Anaphoras for alternative use on certain days. In the Gallican type, on the other hand, the whole liturgy is composed of variable portions fitted into a fixed framework. In the Roman liturgy of to-day the variable portions of the Canon have been reduced to a minimum, though the survival of the varying prefaces and prayers *infra actionem* is sufficient to differentiate it from the unvarying Eastern type.¹

The question then arises—Is it not possible that the Roman Canon, in its original form, resembled the type of liturgy which prevailed throughout the rest of the Western Church? It will be shown later that there is substantial ground for believing this to be not unlikely. We have already seen that the internal evidence of the Canon itself makes it certain that its component parts are at least not in their original order; and we must, in addition,

¹ Another characteristic which divides the Eastern from the Western type of liturgy may be found in the introduction to the Words of Institution in the Anaphora. In the Eastern liturgies they are prefaced by the phrase, "In the same night that He was betrayed," whereas in Roman and Gallican alike the form, "The day before He suffered," is used. The Mozarabic liturgy is, as it stands in extant books, an exception to this, for there the words are "In qua nocte tradebatur"; but formerly the usual Western type was followed, for the prayers succeeding the Words of Institution are always entitled "Post pridie" in the MSS. and in the printed books.

not be misled by the overwhelming prevalence of the Roman rite at the present day. That a very different state of things prevailed formerly is witnessed to by the survival of the Gallican form of liturgy in the Mozarabic and Ambrosian rites which are still in use to-day.

It is true that the extant forms of the Gallican liturgy contain Roman elements which were introduced into them at a later date; but with the aid of the accounts of the Gallican rite given by S. Germanus of Paris, and S. Isidore of Seville, there is no difficulty in eliminating all the subsequent interpolations and in reproducing the pure Gallican liturgy even in its details. S. Isidore¹ gives the order of the prayers in the *Missa Fidelium* as follows :

Prima . . . oratio admonitionis est erga populum, ut excitentur ad exorandum Deum.

Secunda invocationis ad Deum est, ut clementer suscipiat preces fidelium oblationesque eorum.

Tertia autem effunditur pro offerentibus sive pro defunctis fidelibus, ut per idem sacrificium veniam consequantur.

Quarta post haec habetur pro osculo pacis.

Quinta deinde infertur Illatio in sanctificatione oblationis, in qua etiam et ad Dei laudem terrestrium creaturarum virtutumque caelestium universitas provocatur, et *Hosanna in excelsis* cantatur, quod salvatore de genere David nascente salus mundo usque ad excelsa pervenerit.

Porro *Sexta* ex hinc succedit conformatio sacramenti, ut oblatio, quae Deo offertur, sanctificata per Spiritum Sanctum, Christi Corpori et Sanguini conformetur.

Harum ultima est oratio quae Dominus noster discipulos suos orare instituit.

¹ *De Eccles. Off.*, I. xv (P. L. lxxxij. 752, 753).

We have after the Offertory the following scheme ; the numbering is from S. Isidore, and the names of the forms of prayer from the Gallican liturgical books :

1. Praefatio Missae (an address to the people).
2. Alia Oratio, or Collectio ante Nomina, or Oratio super Sindonem.
(Reading of the Diptychs.)
3. Collectio post Nomina.
4. Collectio ad Pacem (accompanying the Kiss of Peace).
(Sursum corda, etc.)
5. { Contestatio, or Immolatio, or Illatio
 (=the Roman Preface).
 (Sanctus.)
 Post Sanctus.
 Qui pridie.
6. { Anamnesis and Epiclesis, or Post pridie,
 or Post Mysterium, or Post Secreta.
 Concluding clause.
(Fraction.)
7. Paternoster, with introductory and concluding clauses.

It will be convenient to give the above elements in parallel columns with the Roman Canon. We shall then see at a glance the differences and the points of likeness between the two forms of Anaphora.

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

	THE ROMAN CANON.	THE GALRICAN ANAPHORA.
Prefatio, Contestatio, Illatio or Immolatio Missae.	Vere dignum.	Vere dignum.
	Sanctus. <i>Te igitur.</i> <i>Memento</i> of the living. <i>Communicantes.</i> <i>Hanc igitur.</i> <i>Quam oblationem.</i>	Sanctus.
Post Sanctus.		Vere sanctus.
	Qui pridie.	Qui pridie.
Anamnesis and Epiclesis, Post pridie, Post <i>Mysterium</i> , or Post <i>Secreta</i> .	{ Unde et memores. Supra quae. Supplices te rogamus.	The Post pridie.
	<i>Memento</i> of the dead. <i>Nobis quoque peccatoribus.</i>	
	Per quem haec omnia semper bona creas, etc.	Per quem omnia creas, etc.

A glance at the foregoing table will show that, if the italicized portions of the Roman Canon be excluded, the order in both Anaphoras is the same, with the exception that there is a gap in the Roman

between the *Sanctus* and the *Qui pridie* prayers, which is filled in the Gallican by the *Post Sanctus* prayers, producing a continuity of form and sense. With these omissions and the one addition the remaining portions will be found to form one continuous prayer, without any break in form or in logical coherence, though there will still remain one or two phrases about whose meaning there may be some uncertainty.

Now this continuity of the Eucharistic prayer is an important characteristic. It obtains not only in the Eastern Liturgies but in the Gallican, in spite of the fact that the Anaphora in the latter is composed almost entirely of prayers that vary from day to day. For these latter, numerous as they are, are constructed so as to fit into the framework of the Anaphora, in such a way as to form one continuous prayer.

This continuous prayer is, in the Eastern liturgies, constructed on a definite theological and historical plan. It speaks of the perfections of the Blessed Trinity, of the praise offered by the heavenly host, of the work of Creation, of the Redemption as foreshadowed in the Old Testament and as the object of the Advent of our Lord, of the Institution of the Eucharist, of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension; while Pentecost is represented in due sequence by the recognition of the work of the Holy Ghost in the Epiclesis. The same theological and Christological order may be observed to prevail in the Gallican liturgies, especially in the ordinary dominical or Sunday Masses. Perhaps the most

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striking specimen is to be found, as pointed out by Dom Cagin, in the dominical Preface and *Post Sanctus* given in the Stowe Missal, for, though they are utilized there with the adopted Roman Canon, yet they really belong to the earlier purely Gallican rite, which had its own Gallican Consecration Prayer :

Vere dignum et justum est æquum et salutare est nos tibi hic semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, omnipotens æterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum, qui cum Unigenito tuo et Spiritu sancto Deus es unus et immortalis, Deus incorruptibilis et immotabilis, Deus invisibilis et fidelis, Deus mirabilis et laudabilis, Deus honorabilis et fortis, Deus altissimus et magnificus, Deus vivus et verus, Deus sapiens et potens, Deus sanctus et speciosus, Deus magnus et bonus, Deus terribilis et pacificus, Deus pulcher et rectus, Deus purus et benignus, Deus beatus et justus, Deus pius et sanctus, non unius singulariter personæ sed unius Trinitatis substantiæ, te credimus, te benedicimus, te adoramus, et laudamus nomen tuum in æternum et in sæculum sæculi. Per quem salus mundi, per quem vita hominum, per quem resurrectio mortuorum. Per quem majestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates, cæli caelorumque virtutes ac beata Seraphim socia exsultatione celebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur supplici confessione dicentes :

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cæli et universa terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

Benedictus qui venit de cælis ut conversaretur in terris, homo factus est ut delicta carnis deleteret, hostia factus est per passionem suam vitam æternam credentibus daret.*

With this we may compare another *Post Sanctus* prayer in the Stowe Missal, under the heading *Missa Apostolorum et martyrum et sanctorum et sanc-*

* *Stowe Missal*, H.B.S. I. 22^v, 23^r, 23^v.

tarum virginum, which is followed immediately by the words *Qui pridie*. It begins with a preface :

Dignum et justum est, etc. . . . dicentes : S[anctus].

Vere sanctus, vere benedictus, vere mirabilis in sanctis suis, Deus noster Jesus Christus ipse dabit virtutem et fortitudine[m] plebis suae ; benedictus Deus quem benedicimus in Apostolis, et in omnibus sanctis suis, qui placuerunt ei ab initio saeculi, per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.¹

It is true that the former *Vere sanctus* prayer from the Stowe Missal is not there given under the heading *Post Sanctus*, but, if there were any doubt about its character, it would be removed by comparing it with the following *Post Sanctus* prayer from the Mozarabic liturgy : ²

Vere sanctus, vere benedictus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus : qui venit e caelis ut conversaretur in terris, caro factus est ut habitaret in nobis. Ipse [Dominus ac Redemptor aeternus].

This comes from the Mass for Christmas Day. Other parallel *Post Sanctus* prayers may be cited from the *Missae Dominicales* in *Missale Gothicum*.³

Vere sanctus, vere benedictus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus : qui venit de caelis, ut conversaretur in terris ; homo factus, ut habitaret in nobis ; hostia effectus, ut nos faceret sacerdotes. Ipse enim qui pridie.

Vere sanctus, vere in excelsis Dominus Deus noster Filius tuus Rex Israel. Qui pridie.⁴

Sanctus in sanctis, benedictus in terris, Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Qui pridie.⁵

Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit de caelis, ut conversaretur in terris, caro factus, ut per passionem suam vitam credentibus daret. Ipse enim qui pridie.⁶

¹ *Stowe Missal*, H.B.S. I. 41^v.

² *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, ed. Férotin (1912), 115.

³ Neale and Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, p. 142.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 144.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 147.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 150.

And in the Second Gallican Mass of Mone's Collection we find this *Post Sanctus* prayer :

Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus. Qui pridie.¹

There seems, therefore, no doubt that there was once some clause connecting the end of *Sanctus* (which itself was really only an incidental allusion to the worship of the heavenly host² in the general scheme of the Eucharistic prayer) with the next section of the Anaphora, the Institution of the Eucharist. This clause is found more or less fully developed in every early liturgy, except the Roman Canon as it now stands. If the presumption is well founded, that there was originally only one scheme or order of service in celebrating the Eucharist, it seems certain that the Roman Anaphora did not at this point differ from the rest of Christendom.

The Rev. W. C. Bishop had already suggested in the *Church Quarterly Review*³ that the substitution for the prayer now contained in the Roman Canon between the *Sanctus* and *Qui pridie* of some such connecting-link as "Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster" would make it parallel to the Great Thanksgiving in other rites. He also⁴ pointed to the fact that the Canon, or at least the form of consecration, was of a similar character to that contained in other Roman consecrations.

¹ Neale and Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, p. 4.

² The people did not, it would seem, originally join in singing the *Sanctus*. A tradition recorded in *Liber Pontificalis* attributes the introduction of this, in Rome, to S. Sixtus (c. 119-128).

³ July, 1908, p. 398.

⁴ p. 399.

1. "In the old Roman baptismal service . . . the *consecratio fontis* is evidently modelled on the Eucharistic Canon. It commences with *Sursum corda* and the following versicles, and continues *Vere dignum*, etc. It is a thanksgiving in which the various Old Testament types of Baptism are commemorated in order, and the whole concludes thus :

Per Jesum Christum . . . Dominum nostrum qui . . . discipulis suis jussit ut credentes baptizarentur in te dicens :

[*Institution.*] Ite docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

[*Anamnesis.*] Haec nobis praecepta servantibus¹ tu Deus omnipotens clemens adesto, etc.

[*Invocation.*] Descendat in hanc plenitudinem fontis virtus Spiritus tui et totam hujus aquae substantiam regenerandi fecundet effectum. . . ."²

2. Dom Cagin gives as another parallel case the Blessing of Water on the Eve of the Epiphany which formerly existed in the Western Church, as it does to this day in the Eastern. The service is to be found in all the Roman Rituals printed at Venice as late as 1890. It takes the form of a *Missa sicca*. It is interpolated indeed with exorcisms and anthems, but the main outline is quite plain. The anaphoral portion runs thus :

Vere dignum et justum est . . . Domine Deus caeli et terrae . . . [Amen]. Iterumque . . . dulcorasti. [*Ant.*

¹ Compare with similar phrases in Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic books for *Post pridie* given later, pp. 26, 30, and 37.

² In the Gelasian order for Baptism of a sick man (*ed. Wilson*, p. 116) the blessing has as its Epiclesis the phrase, *Angelorum sanctitatis emittas*, which recalls the allusion to the angel in *Supplices te* of the Roman Canon.

Baptizatur. . . . *Ant.* Baptizat miles] Benedicere . . . abscedat. Per Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem majestatem tuam laudant Angeli . . . concelebrant cum quibus et nostras voces . . . dicentes :

Sanctus, Sanctus . . . Hosanna in excelsis. [Exorciso te, spiritus immundi . . . elongentur. Per eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem.] [Oremus] Vere sanctus, vere benedictus, terribilis, metuendus, et adorandus es, Domine Deus noster : ob occultis nostris munda nos, et ab alienis parce servis tuis : ut cum fiducia valeamus dicere orationem illam regalem quam Dominus et Salvator noster per Evangelium suum orare docuit dicens :

Pater noster qui es in caelis . . . Sed libera nos a malo. Libera nos, quaesumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris, libera nos quaesumus, Domine, famulos et famulas a gladio, a fame, a tentatione diaboli, a percussione saeculi, et ab infirmitatibus malis, per Liberatorem et Redemptorem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

This being the case of a *Missa sicca* there is of course no *Qui pridie* nor *Post pridie*, but the outline otherwise is the same ; the same principle of continuity is kept up, the *Vere sanctus* serving as connecting-link between the *Sanctus* and the *Paternoster*.

3. Again, in the *Locupletissimus Thesaurus benedictionum*¹ of Gelasius of Cilia, there is a *Benedictio Calami* in which the same *Vere sanctus* is used with the *Paternoster* and its *Libera*, but treated as a formula complete in itself without any of the preceding part of a *Missa sicca*.

Exorcismus alius supra calamum : Itaque adjuro te creatura calami . . . , et agonizantem et mortuum. Qui tecum, etc.

Oremus. Vere sanctus, vere benedictus atque metuendus et

¹ Fifth edition (Augsburg, 1738), p. 149.

adorandus es, Domine Deus noster, ab occultis nostris munda nos, et ab alienis parce, servis tuis, ut cum fiducia valeamus dicere orationem illam regalem quam Dominus et Salvator noster per Evangelium suum orare decrevit dicens : Pater noster, etc. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

Libera nos, quaesumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis praesentibus et futuris, libera nos quaesumus Domine famulos tuos et famulas tuas, a gladio, a fame, a fraude et tentatione diabolica ; a persecutione saeculi, ab infirmitatibus malis, per Liberatorem et Redemptorem nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

It is to be noted that these last forms come, not from Gaul or Spain, but from Venetia, Rhaetia, Pannonia, and Noricum—that is to say, from a region which was not under the influence of the “Gallican” liturgy on the one hand, and where on the other the Roman influence and tradition would probably date from very early times, as in later days the patriarchs of Aquileia, the chief see of this region, were on bad terms with Rome. He and the bishops of the Istrian region were out of communion with Rome for more than one hundred years in the sixth and seventh centuries. Here we find the principle of continuity again carried out in a *missa sicca* ; and we see that these and the baptismal consecration are modelled upon the order of a Eucharistic Anaphora, which must have been that in use at Rome ; consequently they imply the existence there of a Eucharistic Prayer following the same order as that of all other liturgies, Eastern and Western, the Canon alone excepted. They afford, therefore, presumptive evidence that at some early period a change was effected at Rome

whereby the older anaphoral order was replaced by the Canon, which was made up of prayers, or parts of prayers, belonging to the older use.

4. The same *Vere sanctus* is found in a missal in the Vatican Library¹ of the x-xi century, which is supposed to have belonged to a monastery in the Abruzzi, without even the *Paternoster* after it, and is used as a sort of Epiclesis.

Item benedictio. Vere sanctus, vere benedictus, vere mirabilis et metuendus Deus : *per quem salus mundi : per quem vita hominum : per quem resurrectio mortuorum* : per quem remissio peccatorum : per ipsum supplices petimus et rogamus : ut hanc creaturam olivae . . . et benedicere et sanctificare digneris. Per.

The words italicized in this example are to be found in the Preface of the Stowe Missal already given.

They also occur in a mass for the dead in the Gelasian Sacramentary.²

Contestatio. V.D. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. *Per quem salus mundi, per quem vita omnium (or, hominum), per quem resurrectio mortuorum.* Per ipsum te, Domine, suppliciter deprecamur, ut anima famuli tui Illius, cujus diem Illum celebramus, indulgentiam largiri perpetuam digneris, atque contagiis mortalitatis exutam, in aeternae salvationis partem restituas cum angelis et archangelis.

5. Another testimony to the essential continuity of the Preface, *Sanctus* and *Post Sanctus* is to be found in the Mozarabic MSS. Dom Férotin says of the *Post Sanctus*, "This prayer, which is in reality the continuation of the *Illatio* (Preface), is always given in the Visigothic MSS. as a separate piece, and under a distinct heading. The priest chanted its conclusion, which is sometimes accompanied by

¹ Vat. Lib. 4770, f. 35.

² Ed. Wilson, p. 314.

musical notation in the MS. texts. . . . Then came the solemn silence of the *Missa Secreta*" (*Qui pridie* prayer).¹

Passing now to a later part of the Canon, we observe that the character of continuity is maintained in the portion after *Qui pridie* in the words which begin the first, second, and sixth of the succeeding sections, namely *Unde, Supra quae, and Per quem*. What, then, is to be said about the three that come between the second and the sixth?

The fourth and fifth break in upon the continuity of the prayer, and we have already given reasons for supposing them to be interpolations. But the third, *Supplices te rogamus*, produces no break in the sense, although it has no verbal connecting-link with the preceding section. We find, however, in the treatise *De Sacramentis*, which gives a very early form of the Roman Canon, the substance of the opening of this prayer, mingled with the two preceding prayers:

Ergo memores gloriosissimae ejus passionis, et ab inferis resurrectionis et in caelum ascensionis, offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem vitae aeternae, *et petimus et precamur* ut hanc oblationem suscipias in *sublimi altari tuo per manus angelorum tuorum*, sicuti suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.

A connecting-link is also to be found here in the Gallican variable prayers of the Anaphora, as the following instances show:

¹ *Liber Sacramentorum* xxii. 6.

Recolentes *igitur* et servantes praecepta Unigeniti deprecamur . . . (*Post Secreta* of the third Mass of Mone's collection).

Addit etiam istud edictum ut quotiescumque corpus ipsius sumeretur et sanguis, commemoratio fieret dominicae passionis, *quod nos facientes* . . . (*Post Secreta* of Mone's fifth Mass).

Respice *igitur*, clementissime Pater, Filii instituta . . . (*Post Secreta* of Mone's sixth Mass).

Haec facimus, Domine Sancte Pater omnipotens aeternae Deus commemorantes et celebrantes passionem . . . (*Post Mysterium* of the *Vigilia Nativitatis Domini* in *Missale Gothicum*).

Haec ergo facimus, Domine, haec praecepta servamus . . . (*Post Mysterium* of the Mass of S. Stephen, *ibid.*).

Haec nos, Domine, *instituta et praecepta* retinentes . . . (*Post Secreta* of the Circumcision, *ibid.*).

Haec igitur praecepta servantes, sacrosancta munera nostra salutis offerimus . . . (*Post Mysterium* of the Mass *In Cathedra S. Petri*, *ibid.*).

Obtemperantes *talibus institutis*, te poscimus, omnipotens . . . (*Liber Ordinum*, ed. Férotin, col. 430).

And very many other examples might be given, but these are sufficient to show the character of continuity possessed by the latter part of the Anaphora, the whole being connected to and concluded by the final paragraph beginning *Per quem*.¹ A parallel form is given below from the Mozarabic Missal.

MOZARABIC FORM.²

Te praestante Sancte Domine : quia tu haec omnia nobis indignis servis tuis valde bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis ac praestas nobis :

ROMAN FORM.

Per quem haec omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis et praestas nobis.

¹ Compare too the way in which the Epiclesis on the oil is linked on to *Per quem* on Maundy Thursday.

² *P. L.* lxxxv. 554.

ut sint benedicta a te
Deo nostro in saecula saeculorum.

Per ipsum et cum ipso et
in ipso est tibi, Deo Patri omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, omnis honor et gloria.

In this way it is possible to reconstruct the continuity both in the earlier and in the later portions of the Roman Canon.

If further proof is needed, a still more striking illustration of the continuity of the primitive Eucharistic Prayer of the West is to be obtained from the non-Roman parts of the Ambrosian Sacramentaries. Here we find two valuable survivals. (A) in the Canon on Easter Even there is a *Vere sanctus* clause passing directly to *Qui pridie*, while (B) on Maundy Thursday the *Post pridie* prayer passes straight to *Per quem haec omnia*. The *Memento* and *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* clauses are not said at all on that occasion.

The two are here set in parallel columns, that on the left exhibiting the first survival, and that on the right the second.

[A]

In Vigiliis Paschae.

VERE dignum, aequum et salutare, nos te quidem Domine omni tempore benedicere, sed in hac potissimum nocte profusius exsultantibus animis praedicare, cum Pascha nos immolatus est Christus. Ille est enim verus agnus, qui abstulit peccata

[B]

Feria V in Cena Domini.

VERE quia dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper hic et ubique gratias agere, Domine Sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui cum Deus esset in caelis, ad delenda hominum peccata

mundi. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam nobis resurgendo reparavit. Unde profusis gaudiis totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultat. Sed et supernae virtutes et angelicae concinunt potestates, hymnum gloriae tuae sine fine dicentes :

descendit in terras. Et qui humanum genus venerat liberare, tanquam obnoxius debitor, illicito pretio Dominus a servo distrahitur. Et qui angelos judicat, in hominis est iudicio constitutus. Ut hominem quem ipse fecerat de morte liberaret. Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes :

SANCTUS, Sanctus, Sanctus, etc.

SANCTUS, Sanctus, Sanctus, etc.

Te igitur . . .

Memento . . .

Communicantes . . .

Hanc igitur . . .

Quam oblationem . . .

Post Sanctus.

VERE sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus Jesus Christus Filius tuus, qui cum Dominus esset majestatis descendit de caelo, formam servi qui primus perierat suscepit, et sponte pati dignatus est, ut eum quem ipse fecerat de morte liberaret. Unde et hoc paschale sacrificium tibi offerimus, pro his quos ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto regenerare dignatus es, dans eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, ut invenires eos in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. Pro

quibus tibi Domine supplices
fundimus preces, ut nomina
eorum pariterque famuli tui
illius Imperatoris scripta habeas
in libro viventium, per Christum
Dominum nostrum.

QUI pridie quam pro nostra
et omnium salute pateretur

Accipiens panem elevavit oculos
ad caelos ad te Deum Patrem
suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias
agens, benedixit, fregit, deditque
discipulis suis dicens ad eos,
Accipite, et manducate ex hoc
omnes; hoc est enim corpus
meum. Simili modo postea-
quam cenatum est, accipiens
calicem, elevavit oculos ad
caelos ad te Deum Patrem
suum omnipotentem. Item
tibi gratias agens, benedixit,
tradidit discipulis suis, dicens
ad eos. Accipite et bibite ex
eo omnes; hic est enim calix
sanguinis mei novi et aeterni
testamenti, mysterium fidei,
qui pro vobis et pro multis
effundetur in remissionem
peccatorum.

QUI pridie quam pro nostra et
omnium salute pateretur, ho-
dierna die discumbens in medio
discipulorum suorum et

Accipiens panem elevavit oculos
ad caelos ad te Deum Patrem
suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias
agens, benedixit, fregit, deditque
discipulis suis dicens ad eos,
Accipite et manducate ex hoc
omnes; hoc est enim corpus
meum. Simili modo post-
quam cenatum est, accipiens
calicem, elevavit oculos ad
caelos ad Deum Patrem suum
omnipotentem. Item tibi
gratias agens, benedixit, tra-
didit discipulis suis dicens ad
eos, Accipite et bibite ex eo
omnes; hic est enim calix
sanguinis mei novi et aeterni
testamenti, mysterium fidei,
qui pro vobis et pro multis
effundetur in remissionem
peccatorum.

Mandans quoque et dicens ad eos, Haec quotiescumque
feceritis in meam commemorationem facietis, mortem meam
praedicabitis, resurrectionem meam annuntiabitis, adventum
meum sperabitis, donec iterum de caelis veniam ad vos.

UNDE et memores sumus Domine nos tui servi sed et plebs tua Sancta Domini Nostri Jesu Christi passionis, necnon et ab inferis mirabilis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos gloriosissimae ascensionis, offerimus praeclarae majestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, hunc panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae. Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu tuo respice digneris, et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera justī pueri tui Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahāe, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

SUPPLICES te rogamus omnipotens Deus, jube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum ante conspectum tremendae majestatis tuae. Ut quotquot ex hoc altari sanctificationis sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi sumpserimus omni benedictione caelesti, et gratia repleamur per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Memento . . .

HAEC facimus, haec celebramus, tua Domine praecepta servantes, et ad communionem inviolabilem, hoc ipsum quod corpus Domini sumimus, mortem dominicam nuntiamus. Tuum vero est omnipotens Pater mittere nunc nobis Unigenitum Filium tuum, quem non quaerentibus sponte misisti, qui cum sis ipse immensus et inaestimabilis, Deum quoque ex te immensum et inaestimabilem genuisti, ut cujus passione redemptionem humani generis tribuisti, ejus nunc corpus tribuas ad salutem; per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus . . .

PER quem haec omnia Domine semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et nobis famulis tuis largiter praestas ad augmentum fidei, ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum. Et est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso, omnis honor, virtus, laus, gloria, imperium, perpetuitas et potestas, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen.¹

PER quem haec omnia Domine semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et nobis famulis tuis largiter praestas ad augmentum fidei et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum. Et est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso, omnis honor, virtus, laus, gloria, imperium, perpetuitas et potestas, per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen.²

It might be argued that these features are not survivals, but mere peculiarities. But it is easy to show that this is not the case—that, on the contrary, they form part of a primitive Gallican unity of rite, which all the various processes of Romanizing have not altogether obscured. In order to do so it will be well now to give the three forms of Gallican liturgy in parallel columns, so as to show the essential unity of the forms which prevailed in the West, at any rate outside the sphere of the Roman liturgy proper.

I. In the Ambrosian Anaphora the Preface has been taken from the *Missa de Sancta Trinitate*, the *Post Sanctus* from Easter Even, and the rest from the *Ordo Missae*, from the oldest surviving MS. of that rite (of the tenth century), in which there is less

¹ *Auctarium Solesmense*, I, nos. 546, 547, 817, 818, and 821.

² *Ibid.*, nos. 488, 491, and 492.

borrowing from the Roman rite than in the actual rite of to-day.¹

II. For the Gallican the *Post Sanctus* and *Post Secreta* (two of which are given in order to show a closer parallel) have been taken from the *Missale Gothicum* (ed. Neale and Forbes, pp. 142, 148, and 47), and the rest from the *Missal* of *Bobbio* (ed. Neale and Forbes, pp. 343 and 208).

III. For the Mozarabic the *Illatio*, *Post Sanctus*, and *Post pridie* have been taken from *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* (ed. Férotin, 1135, 115, and 627), *Sanctus* and *Missa Secreta* from *Liber Ordinum* (ed. Férotin, 237 and 238), and *Te praestante* from *Missale Mixtum* (P. L. lxxxv. 554).

¹ *Auct. Solesm.*, nos. 1258, 813, 547, 817, 818, and 821.

AMBROSIAN ANAPHORA.

VERE dignum. Aeternae Deum, qui cum unigenito Filio tuo, et Spiritu Sancto unus es Deus, unus es Dominus, non in unius singularitate personae, sed in unius Trinitate substantiae. Quod enim de tua gloria revelante te credimus hoc de Filio tuo, hoc de Spiritu Sancto sine differentia discretionis sentimus. Ut in confessione verae sempiternaeque Deitatis, et in personis proprietatis, et in perunitatis, et in maiestate adoretur equalitas.

GALLICAN ANAPHORA.

VERE dignum et iustum est [...] omnipotens Deus [...]. Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob; cuius Verbo universona creata sunt; cuius Spiritu omnia nuntiantur; una divinitas et trina maiestas; natura inseparabilis, persona individua. Deus unus et [non] solus, unitas triplex [trinitas simplex], incomprehensa conjunctio, indivisa distinctio, quem unum insubstantialiter, trinum personaliter nominamus, credimus, confitemur. Tu es enim Deus, et non est secundum opera tua. Tu fundasti terram super aquam; tu legem creatoris omnibus posuisti, qui in uno trinus appares, in tribus unus agnosceris, Pater ingenuitus, Filius unus est generatus, Spiritus Sanctus unus est ex Patre procedens, Patri et Filio coaeternus. Una tamen in tribus

MOZARABIC ANAPHORA.

DIGNUM et iustum est, aeternae omnipotens Deus, nos te semper laudare, tibi quae quantas possumus indesinentur gratias agere: qui cum unigenito Filio tuo Domino nostro et Spiritu Sancto unus es Deus in personarum Trinitate, et unus es Dominus in Trinitate. Quod enim de gloria tua revelante [te] credimus, hoc de Filio tuo Domino nostro Jesu Christo, hoc etiam de Spiritu Sancto sine ulla discretionis sentimus, ut in confessione verae sempiternaeque Deitatis, et in personis proprietatis, et in maiestate unitatis, et in Deitate adoretur equalitas. Per te enim unum verumque Deum constantiam fides accipit; per te virtutem sumit infirmitas, et quicquid est in persecutionibus saevum, quicquid in morte terribile,

AMBROSIAN ANAPHORA.

QUAM laudant Angeli, venerantur Archangeli, Throni, Dominationis, Virtutes, Principatus et Potestates adorant. Quem Cherubim et Seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant, cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes :

GALLICAN ANAPHORA.

virtus et dignitas, potestas atque ita conjunctio divisio. . . .

Cui merito omnes Angeli, atque Archangeli, Cherubim quoque et Seraphim qui intermissione proclamant dicentes :

MOZARABIC ANAPHORA.

Nominis tui facis confessione superari.

Unde merito tibi omnes Angeli et Archangeli proclamare non cessant, ita dicentes :

SANCTUS, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

VERE sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus. Qui cum Dominus esset majestatis descendit de

SANCTUS, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

VERE sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus, qui venit de caelis, ut conversaretur in terris, homo

SANCTUS, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria majestatis tuae. Hosanna, Fili David. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

VERE sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus, qui venit e caelis, ut conversaretur in terris, caro

AMBROSIAN ANAPHORA.

caelo ; formam servi qui primus perierat suscepit, et sponte pati dignatus est, ut eum quem ipse fecerat de morte liberaret. Unde et hoc paschale sacrificium tibi offerimus, pro his quos ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto regenerare dignatus es dans eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, ut invenires eos in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. Pro quibus tibi Domine supplices fundimus preces ut nomina eorum pariterque famuli tui illius Imperatoris scripta habeas in libro viventium per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Qui pridie quam pro nostra et omnium salute pateretur, accipiens panem elevavit oculis ad caelos, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, benedixit, fregit deditque disci-

GALLICAN ANAPHORA.

factus, ut habitaret in nobis, hostia effectus, ut nos faceret sacerdotes.

MOZARABIC ANAPHORA.

factus est, ut habitaret in nobis, Ipse Dominus ac Redemptor aeternus.

Ipse enim qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, elevatis oculis in caelum, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, gratias agens, benedixit, fregit deditque disci-

DOMINUS noster Jesus Christus, in qua nocte tradebatur accepit panem, et benedixit et gratias egit ac fregit; deditque discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et manducate ; Hoc est Corpus meum

AMBROSIAN ANAPHORA.

pulis suis dicens ad eos, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes; hoc est enim Corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cenatum est, accipiens calicem elevavit oculos ad caelos, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem. Item tibi gratias agens benedixit, tradidit discipulis suis dicens ad eos, Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes; hic est enim calix Sanguinis mei novi aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Mandans quoque et dicens ad eos, Haec quotiescumque feceritis, in meam commemorationem facietis, mortem meam praedicabitis, resurrectionem meam annuntiabitis, adventum meum sperabitis, donec iterum de caelis veniam ad vos.

GALLICAN ANAPHORA.

dixit, fregit, dedit discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes; hoc est enim Corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cenatum est, accipit et hunc praefatum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens benedixit, dedit discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes; hic est enim calix Sanguinis mei, novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effunditur in remissione peccatorum. Haec quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.

MOZARABIC ANAPHORA.

quod pro vobis tradetur. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Similiter et calicem postquam cenavit dicens, Hic calix novum testamentum est, quod pro multis effundetur in remissione peccatorum. Et hoc facite, quotiescumque biberitis, in meam commemorationem. Quotiescumque manducaveritis panem hunc et calicem istum biberitis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis donec veniat in claritate de caelis. Amen.

AMEROSIAN ANAPHORA.

UNDE et memores sumus Domine nos tui servi sed et plebs tua sancta Domini nostri Jesu Christi passionis, necnon ab inferis mirabilis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos gloriosissimae ascensionis. Offerimus praeclarae majestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, hunc panem sanctum vitae aeternae, et calicem salutis perpetuae.

GALLICAN ANAPHORA.

Post Secreta.

MEMORES gloriosissimi Domini passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis, offerimus tibi Domine, hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationalem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem salutarem, obsecrantes ut infundere digneris Spiritum tuum Sanctum, edentibus nobis vitam aeternam, regnumque perpetuum collatura potantibus.

Another Post Secreta.

HAEC nos, Domine, instituta et praecepta retinentes suppliciter oramus, uti hoc sacrificium suscipere et benedicere, et sanctificare digneris, ut fiat nobis Eucharistia legitima in tuo Filii tui nomine et Spiritus Sancti, in transformationem

MOZARABIC ANAPHORA.

Hoc agentes apud te, Pater Sancte, redemptricem nostram Unigeniti tui mortem, sicut ipse praecepit, usque in adventum ipsius nuntiamus. Nos eum pro nobis annuntiamus mortuum esse : tu commemorandi tribue dignitatem. Nos eum resurrexisse credimus : tu praesta ut quotidianis liberemur a lapsibus. Nos eum credimus et annuntiamus ad iudicium esse venturum : tu praesta talem conversationem ut ejus terribilem adventum propitium mereamur habere. Hanc quoque oblationem ut accepto habeas et benedicas supplices exoramus, sicut habuisti accepto munera Abel pueri tui justī, et sacrificium patriarchae patris nostri Abrahāe, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech. De-

SUPRA quae propitio ac sereno vultu tuo respicere digneris, et accepta habere. Sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera justī pueri tui Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahāe, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum

AMBROSIAN ANAPHORA.

sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

SUPPLICES te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, ante conspectum tremendæ majestatis tuæ, ut quotquot ex hoc altari sanctificationis sacrosanctum Corpus et Sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi sumpserimus omni benedictione caelestis et gratia repleamur per Christum Dominum nostrum.

But on Maundy Thursday was used instead of these three :
HÆC facimus, hæc celebramus, tua Domine precepta servantes . . . ejus nunc corpus tribuas ad salutem : per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.

MOZARABIC ANAPHORA.

scendat hic quaeso invisibiliter benedictio tua, sicut quondam in patrum hostiis visibiliter descendebat. Ascendat odor suavitatis in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ ex hoc sublimi altario tuo per manus angeli tui, et deferatur in ista solennia Spiritus tuus Sanctus, qui tam adstantis quam offerentis populi, et oblata pariter et vota sanctificet, ut quicumque ex hoc Corpore libaverimus sumamus nobis medelam animæ ad sananda cordium vulnera, ad expellendas de cogitationibus cordis nostri omnes imagines vanitatis, ad eradicunda funditus odia vel vitia terrena, ad plantandam perpetuam caritatem, quæ operit multitudinem peccatorum. Ut vere hic Sanguis sacer Filii tui Domini nostri ita peccata nostra diluat potatus,

GALLICAN ANAPHORA.

Corporis ac Sanguinis Domini Dei nostri Jesu Christi Unigeniti tui.

AMBROSIAN ANAPHORA.

PER quem haec omnia Domine semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et nobis famulis tuis largiter praestas, ad augmentum fidei, ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum. Et est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso, omnis honor, virtus, laus, gloria, imperium, perpetuitas, et potestas; in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen.

GALLICAN ANAPHORA.

PER quem omnia creas, creata benedicis, benedicta sanctificas et sanctificata largiris, Deus, qui in Trinitate perfecta vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum.

MOZARABIC ANAPHORA.

sicut quondam nos redemit effusus.

TE praestante, sancte Domine, quia tu haec omnia nobis indignis servis tuis valde bonas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis ac praestas nobis, ut sit benedicta a te Deo nostro in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Here is a clear uniform type, to which all the Gallican liturgies conform; and, if the view of the Roman canon set forth above be taken, it will be seen that the Roman liturgy also, as reconstructed, is not very discrepant from that type. For if the two groups of prayers (*a*) in the first part of the Canon :

{ Memento Domine,
 { Communicantes,
 { Hanc igitur,
 { Quam oblationem,

and (*b*) in the second half :

{ Memento etiam,
 { Nobis quoque

be omitted; and an ordinary dominical Preface and *Post Sanctus* prayer, such as have already been quoted from the various Gallican rites, be supplied, it is obvious that we get a very close parallel to the "Gallican" scheme as illustrated in the foregoing table.

But this "reconstruction" becomes more convincing still when it is compared with the most ancient Eastern forms that have come down for us, such as that of Bishop Sarapion¹ (c. A.D. 350), or the following Ethiopian Church Order (c. A.D. 325), found in a Latin translation at Verona (*ed.* Häuler):

Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.
 Sursum corda. Habemus ad Dominum.
 Gratias agamus Domino. Dignum et justum est.

¹ J. Wordsworth, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book* (S.P.C.K., 1898), pp. 60 foll.

Gratias tibi referimus, Deus, per dilectum Puerum Tuum Jesum Christum, quem in ultimis temporibus misisti nobis Salvatorem et Redemptorem et Angelum voluntatis tuae, qui est Verbum tuum inseparabile, per quem omnia fecisti et beneplacitum tibi fuit; misisti de caelo in matricem virginis, qui in utero habitus incarnatus est et Filius tibi ostensus est ex Spiritu Sancto et virgine natus.

Qui voluntatem tuam complens et populum sanctum tibi acquirens extendit manus, cum pateretur, ut a passione liberaret eos, qui in te crediderunt: qui, cum traderetur voluntariae passioni, ut mortem solvat, et vincula diaboli dirumpat, et infernum calcet, et justos illuminet, et terminum figat, et resurrectionem manifestet, accipiens panem gratias tibi agens, dixit: Accipite, manducate; hoc est Corpus meum, quod pro vobis confringitur. Similiter et calicem dicens: hic est Sanguis meus, qui pro vobis effunditur; quando hoc facitis, meam commemorationem facitis.

Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis ejus offerimus tibi panem et calicem, gratias tibi agentes, quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare. Et petimus ut mittas Spiritum tuum Sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae; in unum congregans des omnibus qui percipiunt, sanctis in repletionem Spiritus Sancti ad confirmationem fidei in veritate, ut te laudemus et glorificemus per Puerum tuum Jesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et honor, Patri et Filio cum Sancto Spiritu, in sancta ecclesia tua, et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

It must be remembered that, though we have this only in a Latin form, it is a primitive Eastern liturgy, and indeed a type representative of Eastern liturgies as a whole, except that, as this order omitted to mention the share of the angels in our praises of God, so *Sanctus* is lacking too—a very rare exception. We cannot help coming to the conclusion that the evidence before us points clearly to the existence of a primitive model of Eucharistic prayer which prevailed widely, if not universally. It is not

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suggested that it was followed and developed everywhere in a severely logical and scientific manner, nor that there was full agreement in details ; nor even that there was clearness and exactness of doctrine in all parts of the prayer everywhere. But the agreement shown is certainly most striking ; and it goes far to show that the Eastern and Gallican liturgies pure may be called in their structure primitive and normal, logical and coherent, while the Roman is confused and abnormal.

II

If the reconstitution of the Roman Canon in its original form here suggested be provisionally accepted (apart from the consideration of points of detail, such as the vagueness of the Epiclesis) it now remains to consider the omissions that have been made in order to secure this result. The most considerable of these is the entire removal of the Intercessions. But there is nothing surprising in this. In the Gallican liturgies the Diptychs (*nomina*) were read before the Anaphora, and the same thing takes place in many of the Eastern liturgies. Duchesne, in his *Christian Worship : its Origin and Evolution*,¹ acknowledges that this may seem the more natural disposition. But we are not left to conjecture on this point, for Justin Martyr, in his *Apology*,² states plainly that in his day the Intercession came before the Anaphora in the Roman Mass.

¹ p. 180.

² P. L. lxx. i.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find in early forms of the Roman Mass a certain instability in the prayers commemorating the living and the dead as regards their appearance, or non-appearance, and their position relative to the other sections of the Canon when they do appear.

In the Gelasian Sacramentary¹ the Commemoration of the dead (*Memento etiam*) is not found at all after the Consecration in at least two of the MSS.

Gerbert² notes six other Sacramentaries as being in the same case. Cagin adds to this list a Sacramentary of Corbie.

In the *Sacramentarium triplex*, edited by Gerbert, the commemoration of the dead follows immediately after that of the living, so that the two formulae *Memento Domine* and *Memento etiam* are quite consecutive, which one would expect on *a priori* grounds as being the natural and logical position. And a Rheinau MS. of the Gelasian Sacramentary³ gives these words directly after the Commemoration of the living :

(. . . incolumitatis suae.) *Memento etiam Domine et animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum fidelium Catholicorum in Christo quiescentium, qui nos praecesserunt, illorum et illarum, qui per eleemosynam et confessionem (tibi reddunt vota sua aeterno Deo vero et vivo).*

Thus we have examples (1) of the absence of the *Memento* of the dead after the Consecration, and (2) of its union with the *Memento* of the living before

¹ *Ed. Wilson*, p. 235.

² *Mon. Vet. Alem.* Pt. I. S. Blas. (1777), p. 236.

³ *Ed. Wilson*, p. 238.

it. We find it (3) before the Canon in the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*¹ as a *Collectio post Nomina*—that is to say, a Collect which followed the recitation of the Diptychs of the living and the dead. The latter portion is word for word the same.

Roman Canon.

MEMENTO etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum
N. et *N.*

qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsi, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur; per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.

Collectio Post Nomina (from *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*).

PLACARE, Domine, quaesumus, humilitatis nostrae precibus et hostiis, et ubi nulla suppetant suffragia meritorum, tuae nobis indulgentiae succurre praesidiis: et eorum nomina . . .

qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsi et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.²

We have next to account for the other clauses.

The following extract from the Mozarabic Liturgy³ suggests that *Communicantes* belongs to the Diptychs after the Offertory.

¹ *Ed. Neale and Forbes*, p. 155.

² Some of the same phrases are to be found in a *Collectio Post Nomina* of a *Missae Dominicalis* in *Missale Gothicum* (*ed. Neale and Forbes*, p. 141): “*Istis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, Domine, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur*,” etc., and in *Missale Gothicum* (*ed. Neale and Forbes*, p. 70): “*Caris etiam nostris, qui nos in somno pacis praecesserunt, perennis aevi beatitudinem et perpetuae lucis gratiam remunerare dignetur*,” and *ibid.*, p. 53: “*Defunctis refrigerium praestet, et quorum texuit recitatio praemissa sortem inter electos iubeas aggregare*.”

³ *Lib. Sacr.* 30.

Oratio post Nomina. Sanctorum tuorum, Domine, communicantes memoriae Patriarcharum, Prophetarumque tuorum [non] sumus immemores : ipsis enim pronuntiantibus adventus tuus claruit mundo. Memoramus etiam Apostolos tuos : qui adventum tuum a Prophetis Patriarchisque praedictum oculis suis cernere meruerunt. *Facimus quoque et tuorum Martyrum sanctorum mentionem* : qui te Dominum Redemptorem jam venisse confessi : ad mortem usque sunt certati pro veritate. *Fidelium praeterea tuorum* in hac adhuc peregrinatione degentium nomina recensemus : poscentes ut eorum vitae cursum ea perfectione consummes : qua Sanctos tuos apud te in caelesti habitaculo locatos perfectosque jam retines. *Non obliviscimur quoque defunctos naturae nostrae ac fidei socios.* Sed precamur te Dominum amplissimae pietatis : *ut eis refrigeria tribuas sempiternae quietis.*

We can similarly find another of the clauses in question also occupying a different position.

1. In a Como MS. Missal¹ of the eleventh century the formula *Hanc igitur oblationem*, without the connecting word *igitur*, is placed under the inscription *Super oblata* and joined to *Quam oblationem*. *Super oblata* is the title formerly given to the *secreta* in many sacramentaries.

2. In a Lyons Missal² of the thirteenth century it is given in the following form under the rubric *Quando panem et vinum super altare ponit*, before the *Lavabo* :

Hanc oblationem quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut placatus accipias et omnium offerentium et eorum, pro quibus tibi offertur, peccata indolge.

The Gregorian addition to this prayer *Diesque nostros, etc.*, is wanting here, but *omnium offerentium* is

¹ Vitt. Emman. Lib. at Rome, 2110, MS. Sessor. 136.

² Vat. Lib. Barberini Cod. xii. 2.

present, showing the connexion of the prayer with the Diptychs.

3. The same prayer is found under the same rubric in the Sacramentary of Moissac¹ (century X-XI):—

Quando panem et vinum super aram ponitur. Hanc oblationem quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, placatus accipe et omnium offerentium et eorum pro quibus offertur peccata indulge.

4. In another Sacramentary,² probably from Arezzo, under the rubric *super hoblatam* is a fragment of *Quam oblationem* :

Sanctifica Domine, hanc salutarem hostiam, *ut nobis fiat Unigeniti tui Corpus.*

5. To these may be added two other forms of *Hanc igitur*, used as an intercessory prayer, in two early Roman Sacramentaries used in Gaul. The first, now at Rouen, is cited first by Delisle and then by Ebner.³ The other, from the Abbey of Vauclair, was published by Martène in his *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictins*.⁴ The latter is as follows :—

Infra actionem quotidianam S. Ambrosii Mediolanensis Archiepiscopi. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quaesumus, Domine, placatus accipias, quam tibi devoto offerimus corde, pro pace, et caritate, et unitate sanctae ecclesiae, pro fide Catholica et omnium fidelium tuorum jubeas conservari, pro sacerdotibus et omni gradu ecclesiae, pro regibus et ducibus, et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt constituti, pro familiaribus et consanguineis et omnibus nobis commendatis, pro

¹ Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2293, f. 14. ² Vat. Lib. MS. B. 23.

³ *Iter Italicum*, Freiburg (1896), p. 417.

⁴ Paris (1724), p. 40.

pauperibus, orphanis, viduis, captivis, iter agentibus, languidis, defunctis, qui de hac luce in recta fide et in tuo nomine confidentes migraverunt, et pro omni populo Catholico, pro dissidentibus et discordantibus, ut ad caritatem et concordiam omnes revocentur. Pro hujus etiam negotii qualitate suppliciter deprecamur, de qua in praesenti disputationis actio ventilatur, quatenus non humano, sed tuo sancto quoque judicio dirimata, justitiae veritatisque termino finiatur, diesque nostro in tua pace disponas.

The following example from the *Sacramentarium Leonianum*¹ (a purely Roman document) seems to associate *Hanc oblationem* with the Diptychs :

Conjunctio oblationis virginum sacratarum. Hanc etiam oblationem Domine tibi virginum sacratarum quarum ante sanctum altare tuum oblata *nomina recitantur*, quaesumus, placatus accipias pro quibus majestatem tuam supplices deprecamur, ut propositum castitatis quod te Auctore professae sunt te Protectore custodiant per.

In the next example from the *Sacramentarium Leonianum* we have *Communicantes* given *after Hanc oblationem*, and, though in this and the parallel instance taken from the Gelasian Sacramentary, the prayer is to be said "within the canon," yet it still keeps its termination peculiar to the prayers *Post Nomina*.

SACR. LEON.

Ed. Feltoe, p. 24.

SACR. GELAS.

Ed. Wilson, p. 89.

Vere dignum.

Hanc igitur oblationem

Infra actionem. COMMUNICANTES. . . .

Item infra act. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae

¹ *Ed. Feltoe, p. 36.*

quam tibi offerimus pro his
quos ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto
regenerare dignus es tribuens
eis remissionem omnium pecca-
torum

Quaesumus placatus accipias

EORUMQUE NOMINA ASCRIBI
JUBEAS IN LIBRO VIVENTIIUM PER.

COMMUNICANTES. . . .

quam tibi offerimus pro his
quoque quos regenerare dig-
natus es ex aqua et Spiritu
Sancto tribuens eis remissionem
omnium peccatorum

ut invenires eos in Christo
Jesu Domino nostro.

Quaesumus Domine placatus
accipias pro quibus majestati
tuae supplices fundimus preces
UT NOMINA EORUM ASCRIBI JUBEAS
IN LIBRO VIVENTIIUM : diesque
nostros.

In *De Sacramentis* the *Quam oblationem* prayer is given in connexion with *Qui pridie*, but it is to be noted that it begins, not with "quam oblationem," but with "fac hanc oblationem," a form which suggests that it has undergone some modification to fit its present position. And there can be little doubt that S. Gregory's interpolation of the passage *diesque nostros . . . numerari* was the cause of the phrase *quam oblationem*, which became necessary, grammatically, in order to connect the two halves of the prayer thus disjoined, which must previously have run something like this :

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae quaesumus, Domine, ut placatus suscipias, et benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris.

In the following three Gregorian Sacramentaries we find the substance of *Communicantes* and *Memento Domine* in the *Secreta* of the Mass of S. Sigismund.

LUCCA.
(Miscellanea of Baluze,
ed. Mansi II. 319.)

OFFERIMUS tibi, Do-
mine, vota
Deo vivo et vero in
nomine electi tui
Sigismundi pro ar-
dore febrium

communicantes et
memoriam facientes,

beatissimorum
patriarcharum,

et martyrum,

omnium sanctorum
tuorum quorum
precibus meritisque
concedas ut in omni
protectione confir-
mati muniamur ejus
auxilio.

FLORENCE.
(Bibl. Laurent, Ae-
dilium 123. f. 80.)

OFFERUNT tibi, Do-
mine, votiva vota
Sancto Deo vivo et
vero in nomine
Unigeniti tui Do-
mini nostri et in
electi tui Sigismundi
per ardorem feb-
rium

communicantes et
memoriam facientes
beatissimae Mariae,
semper virginis,
et sanctorum
apostolorum, patri-
archarum,
prophetarum, mar-
tyrum,
et confessorum, vir-
ginum,

omnium sanctorum
precibus meritisque
concedas ut in omni-
bus protectionibus
tuis infirmus muni-
atur auxilio.

PADUA.
(D. 47. f. 297.)

OFFERIMUS tibi, Do-
mine, vota sancta
Deo vivo et vero in
nomine Unigeniti
tui Domini nostri et
in electissimi Sigis-
mundi pro ardore
febrium

communicantes et
memoriam facientes
beatissimae Mariae,
semper virginis,
et sanctorum
apostolorum, patri-
archarum,
prophetarum et
martyrum,

omniumque sancto-
rum
precibusque con-
cedas ut in omnibus
meritis tuis famulum
tuum illi muniatur
auxilium.

In the following examples, taken from the Mozarabic Liturgy, we find *Te igitur*, *Hanc igitur*, and *Quam oblationem*, in substance, in *Post pridie* prayers :—

Credimus, Domine sancte, Pater aeternae, omnipotens Deus,
Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum pro nostra salute

H

incarnatum fuisse, et in substantia Deitatis tibi semper esse aequalem. Per quem te petimus et rogamus, omnipotens Pater, ut accepta habeas et benedicere digneris haec munera et haec sacrificia illibata, quae tibi in primis offerimus pro tua sancta Ecclesia Catholica, quam pacificare digneris per universum orbem terrarum in tua pace diffusam. Memorare etiam, quaesumus, Domine, servorum tuorum qui tibi in honore sanctorum tuorum (illorum) reddunt vota sua Deo vivo et vero pro remissione omnium delictorum, quorum oblationem benedictam, ratam, rationabilemque facere digneris; quae est imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Jesu Christi, Filii tui ac Redemptoris nostri.¹

And again :

Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, quam tibi offerimus pro anima famuli tui, cujus hodie annua dies agitur, quaesumus, placatus intende, eamque ab infernalibus tartareis ergastulis absolutam, inter fideles tuos beneplacitos tibi perpetuam habere jubeas hereditatem.²

With these two examples from the Mozarabic Liturgy compare the following, taken from a tenth century Gregorian MS. from Fulda, in which *Te igitur*, instead of being the introductory clause of the Canon, is a *Post pridie* prayer. In connexion with this we may remember the very strong tendency of the services of the last three days before Easter to preserve archaic features lost or overlaid elsewhere. After the *Sanctus* on Maundy Thursday we find :

1. Communicantes . . .
2. Hanc igitur . . .
3. Qui pridie . . .
4. Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium (tuum) Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus, etc.

¹ *Liber Ord.*, ed. Férotin, col. 321.

² *Ibid.*, col. 448.

It is to be noted that *Quam oblationem* is omitted here.¹

These latter examples suggest that *Te igitur* was formerly part of an Epiclesis prayer; and perhaps *Hanc igitur* also before it was an offertory prayer or an intercession. At any rate, it seems clear that several sections of the Canon, which are now consecutive, were formerly duplicates really belonging to the same liturgical position.

A consideration of the foregoing evidence shows that there was an astonishing lack of stability in prayers corresponding to those now used in this part of the Canon, as well as a complete absence, in earlier times, of the spirit which grew up later, and treated the Canon as something sacrosanct and inviolable. It is here contended that this evidence goes far to justify the omission of the two groups of prayers in question in an attempt to reconstruct the Roman Anaphora in its original form. It seems highly probable that originally they formed no part of the Canon at all, though, as we have seen, it is just possible that one or two of them may have been present in it in a different position and another form.

¹ Compare the *Benedictio Chrismatis* of the Roman Pontifical on Maundy Thursday. After *Sursum corda*, etc., there follow a Preface, *Vere dignum*, etc., and a historical survey of anointings. Then comes the Invocation beginning, "Te igitur deprecamur, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus, per eundem Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum," etc.

III

The question then arises—What direct historical evidence have we as to the early form of the Roman Liturgy? Does it give any support to the theory which is advanced above, or does it contradict it?

Our earliest definite knowledge of the order of the Liturgy at Rome we owe to the *First Apology*¹ of Justin Martyr, written about the middle of the second century. In this he gives an account of the Eucharist twice over. Putting the two accounts together we get the following scheme: After the Lessons and Sermon comes the Intercession, followed by the Kiss of Peace. Then the Offertory, the bread and wine being brought by the deacons to the Bishop. Next the Bishop says the Eucharistic prayer (giving praise and glory to the Father through the Name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and using the words of Institution), to which the people answer *Amen*; and then the Communion follows.

After Justin we get no further definite information about the Roman liturgy until about the year A.D. 400 or a little later, when appeared the treatise *De Sacramentis*,² formerly ascribed to S. Ambrose. It seems to have been written in some North-Italian city which had modelled its rites upon the Roman. The writer says of the Roman Church, "We follow its type and form in everything." In the order

¹ Chaps. lxv, lxvi, lxvii.

² *P. L.* xvi. 417-62.

given by this writer, "Praise is offered to God (*laudes Deo deferuntur*), prayer is made for the people, for kings, and for the rest." Then follows the Consecration, which is effected by the "words of Christ." Here the Intercession comes before the Consecration; but if Dr. Fortescue is right in his suggestion that *laudes Deo deferuntur* means the beginning of the Preface, then the Intercession has already been inserted into the Canon; and the consecrating of the Sacrament is ascribed to the use of our Lord's words of Institution or, rather, of Distribution. But, it is to be noted, not to these words alone without any accompanying prayer, for the writer goes on to give as the answer to the question as to what are these consecrating words:

Dicit Sacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Jesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit in caelum ad te, Sancte Pater omnipotens aeternae Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit, fractumque apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: Accipite et edite ex hoc omnes: hoc est enim corpus meum quod pro multis confringetur. Similiter etiam calicem postquam cenatum est, pridie quam pateretur accepit, respexit in caelum ad te, Sancte Pater omnipotens aeternae Deus; gratias agens benedixit, apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est sanguis meus.

Here we have the *Quam oblationem* prayer of the present Canon in a sort of paraphrase. The beginning "hanc" instead of "quam" suggests the absence of *Hanc igitur* preceding. *Benedictam* is omitted; "quod figura est"¹ suggests the parallel of Bishop

¹ Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 40.

Sarapion's Liturgy¹—"To thee we have offered this bread, the *likeness* of the body of the Only-begotten. . . . We have offered also the cup, the *likeness* of the blood." *Pridie quam pateretur* is repeated over the chalice.

Then later on he gives a further quotation :

Ergo memores gloriosissimae ejus passionis, et ab inferis resurrectionis, et in caelum ascensionis, offerimus tibi hanc *immaculatam hostiam*, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem vitae aeternae ; et petimus et precamur ut hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel et sacrificium patriarchi nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.

We have here the substance of *Unde et memores, Supra quae*, and *Supplices te rogamus*, but the order is different, and the wording also. Note, for instance, the plural "angelorum tuorum." There is no prayer for the communicants.

There is another document of about the year 416 which throws some light on the order of the Roman Canon at this time. It is a letter written by Innocent I² to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium (Gubbio) in Umbria, in the metropolitan province of the Pope. Decentius had written to ask the Pope about certain practices at Eugubium which differed from those of the Church at Rome. The Pope begins by saying that all the Churches of the West ought to follow the Roman customs, because it was from Rome that they had first received the Gospel. It seems that

¹ J. Wordsworth, *Sarapion's Prayer Book*, pp. 62, 63.

² P. L. xx. 551-61.

at Eugubium the Kiss of Peace was given before the Consecration ("ante confecta mysteria"), whereas they ought, according to Innocent, to have followed Rome in giving it after. Eugubium was, however, here following the original Roman practice. At Eugubium the Diptychs were read before the Consecration Prayer, apparently as in the *De Sacramentis*. Innocent seems to say the Intercession should follow the Consecration.

But it does not, at first sight, clearly appear from the letter whether Innocent was reproving Decentius for making innovations, or for slackness in not following changes which had been made at Rome.

We have no further information about the order of the prayers which form the Canon till the date of the earliest text of that now existing.

It is evident, then, that the Roman liturgy underwent a radical change at some period between the time of Justin Martyr's *Apologia* and that of the treatise *De Sacramentis* and of Innocent's letter to Decentius.

The question then arises, How did the Roman rite come to lose its original form, and at what date? The most probable answer is that suggested by the Rev. E. Burbidge.¹

It seems certain that the liturgy used at Rome in the earliest times was in Greek, since this was the vernacular tongue of the majority of the Roman Christians at that time. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Anaphora of that date shared, not only the language of that of the Christians of the

¹ *The Guardian*, March 24th, 1897.

East, but also its unvarying character, and possibly was much on the lines of that in the liturgy of the Apostolic constitutions. In course of time it became necessary to provide also a Latin liturgy for the Latin-speaking Christians of Rome, and the two may have been used side by side for awhile. It seems equally reasonable to suppose that this Latin Mass would take the same form as that to be found in other countries of the West. But when, in course of time, the Greek rite was felt to be no longer needed,¹ and the Latin Mass was substituted for it, perhaps under Pope Damasus (366-84), the adoption of a practically invariable Canon (coupled with the usual variable Western character of the other parts of the Mass) may have been a compromise due to a desire to meet the wishes of those who had been accustomed to the use of the unvarying Greek Anaphora. Latin was, however, the liturgical language in Africa from a much earlier date.

The Rev. W. C. Bishop has attempted² a reconstruction of the African liturgy from the writings of S. Augustine, and comes to the conclusion "(1) that the African liturgy, or liturgies, were originally (so far as can be known) of a character similar to the Mozarabic, though it is quite possible that this similarity did not extend to every detail; (2) that it is quite possible that S. Augustine's liturgy had been modified in certain points in the direction of the Roman rite—the

¹ That is, when the predominant language among Roman Christians became Latin and not Greek.

² *Journ. of Theol. Studies* (Jan. 1912).

most important of which is the position of the Pax. It is by no means incredible that at so early a period a Western liturgy should have already suffered alteration by the adoption of Roman features and the imitation of Roman practices, for the book *De Sacramentis* shows the very same phenomenon in another locality and at the same period. In it we find an adaptation of the Roman Canon for use in connexion with a rite which was originally not Roman, but either Ambrosian or very closely allied to that rite."

Does not the well-known letter of Pope Innocent to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, agree with this view? In this letter he rebukes the bishop for not following the Roman customs, for having the recital of the Diptychs and the Kiss of Peace in the position which they held in the Gallican liturgies. The Pope goes on to inform him at what points these two events should take place. As Mr. Burbidge¹ points out, it cannot have been an innovation on the part of Decentius for which the Pope reproved him, because he would not have needed to be told what the Roman customs were, if he had only recently abandoned them, especially as Innocent reminds him that he had often been present in Rome at the papal services, and knew quite well how they celebrated the mysteries there.²

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² "Saepe dilectionem tuam ad urbem venisse, ac nobiscum in Ecclesia convenisse, non dubium est, et quem morem vel in consecrandis mysteriis, vel in caeteris agendis arcanis teneat, cognovisse."

Therefore it is most probable that some change in the order of the *Missa fidelium* had been made recently at Rome.

The connexion between Rome and Africa was very close. Nearly all the important Latin writers of the second, third, and fourth centuries were African and not Roman. So possibly the Latin rite at Rome was in the first instance introduced from Africa.

It may be noted further that the Alexandrine family of liturgies agrees with the Roman in having *Dominus vobiscum*, etc., before *Sursum corda*, whereas all the other Eastern liturgies have here *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*, etc. (2 Cor. xiii), or equivalent words.

Another link between the Roman and some of the liturgies of the Alexandrine family is the fact that the Intercession comes in the first part of the Anaphora, before the words of Institution.¹ But this does not seem to have been the original position of the Intercession in the Alexandrine liturgies, as it is not found here in the liturgy of Sarapion, nor in the oldest of the Ethiopian Anaphoras, nor in the Coptic liturgies of S. Basil and S. Gregory.

Possibly at Rome intercessions were placed after the Consecration as well as at the Offertory in the original Latin rite to meet the wishes of those who clung to the Greek service as used there at first, if that resembled the Oriental liturgies in inserting intercessions into some part of the Anaphora after

¹ Though in the Alexandrine liturgies it comes before, and in the Roman after, the *Sanctus*.

the words of Institution. This might account for the splitting up of the Intercessions and the Enumeration of the Saints into two portions when they were (for whatever reason) introduced into the Canon.

One more point may be noted, viz., the addition of *Hosanna* and *Benedictus qui venit* to the *Sanctus*. It seems certain that this addition took place there at a much later date than elsewhere. There does not seem to be any evidence of its use at Rome till about the eleventh century or after. It is not in *Ordo Romanus I.*, nor in *Missale Francorum*, nor in Muratori's *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*.

Moreover its presence breaks in upon the logical order of the Anaphora. It is the cry of the people, not of the heavenly host, and is therefore an interpolation in the primitive scheme. It is not found in the Alexandrine liturgies (another link with Rome), nor in the Ethiopian, nor in the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions (at this moment); and in the other early Eastern liturgies it is an interpolation, interrupting the connexion of the following prayer with the *Sanctus*.

Its reintroduction into our own liturgy would seem, therefore, to be of very doubtful expediency. If any extension of *Sanctus* be desirable here, it would be better to adopt the whole or part of the angelic chorus from the Apocalypse (vii. 12), *e.g.*, "Blessing, glory and honour and wisdom be unto thee, for ever, world without end."

We are now in a better position to estimate the value of the Roman Canon as a model for the

revision of the Eucharistic Prayer of our Liturgy ; and the conclusion must be an unfavourable one. There are some who, while recognizing that its present form is unsatisfactory, plead that a rearrangement of its component parts is all that is necessary. The foregoing facts, however, show that, in order to bring it into accordance with the primitive model, the necessary alterations would be so drastic, that the historical connexion with the past (to which appeal is made for its adoption) would be obscured almost beyond recognition. It would seem, then, wiser to go back to a more ancient model still (ancient though the Roman Canon itself is), and thereby link ourselves up with not merely the primitive Eucharistic forms, but also the Eastern Churches of the present day, and in this way secure ourselves from imitating and perpetuating some peculiarity which was in its origin purely local, however widespread its vogue may subsequently have become.

In any revision taking place in the near future it would probably be wisest to aim at something rather tentative, in the direction above indicated. By altering the order of the parts of our present service, and adding some short connecting-links, an immense improvement might be effected, without the risk of taking any step which would need to be retraced in the future. A scheme on these lines is given below. It will be observed that no attempt has been made, as is often urged, to replace the Intercession in the position in which it is given in the 1549 Prayer Book. If the considerations put

forward in this tract are valid, this is clearly the wrong place, and it would be far preferable to leave the Prayer for the Church in its present position. There exist one or two important omissions which it has not been attempted to make good. The question of the Epiclesis has been left alone, as requiring a treatise to itself. It would also of course be very desirable to make good the lack of an Anamnesis. For this we have excellent models in the 1549 Prayer Book, and the Scottish and the American liturgies. But the line here taken has been that of suggesting the bare minimum of what would be satisfactory.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

It is meet and right so to do.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Everlasting God.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name ; evermore praising thee and saying :

Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high.

[All glory be to thee,] Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son, Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there, by his one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death until his coming again: Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood: who in the same night that he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins. Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me.

[Wherefore,] O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant that by the merits and death of thy

Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his Blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his Passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee that all we who are partakers of this Holy Communion may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy through our manifold sins to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

[As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us we are bold to say,] Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

[Deliver us from evil, O Lord, who] presume to come to this thy Table, trusting [not] in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same

Lord, whose property is always to have mercy : grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him and he in us. *Amen.*

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